

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 310670

POLAD FOR HOLBROOKE

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN NEW YORK 5849 ACTION SECSTATE DEC 29.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 5849

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNGA, VN

SUBJECT: VIETNAM AT THE UN -- THE FIRST YEAR

1. THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATION WAS ACTIVE IN THE 32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ITS FIRST SESSION AS A FULL MEMBER. VIETNAMESE DELEGATES HAVE TAKEN PART IN DEBATES ON A WIDE VARIETY OF ISSUES, CO-SPONSORED A FAIR NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS, AND HAD A HAND IN DRAFTING SEVERAL RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS. STRESSING THEIR REVOLUTIONARY, NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS, THE VIETNAMESE HAVE SO FAR COOPERATED WITH THE MOST RADICAL UN DELEGATIONS IN AN IDENTITY OF INTEREST WHICH COULD PROVE TROUBLESOME.

2. THE FIRST ISSUE OF IMPORTANCE TO THE VIETNAMESE AFTER THEIR ADMISSION WAS THE RESOLUTION ON ASSISTANCE FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM. THE US ACQUIESCED IN ADOPTION
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BY CONSENSUS OF THIS RESOLUTION, BUT WE MADE CLEAR OUR POSITION THAT WE COULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE CONSENSUS BECAUSE OF US LEGISLATION PROHIBITING AID TO VIETNAM, AND THAT WE THEREFORE DO NOT ACCEPT AN OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE SUCH AID. VIETNAMESE STATEMENTS ON AID WERE RELATIVELY RESTRAINED, BUT SOME OF THEIR ALLIES BERTED THE US AND DEMANDED AID FROM US TO REPAIR THE RAVAGES OF A "US WAR

OF AGGRESSION."

3. THE VIETNAMESE ALSO TOOK AN UNHELPFUL POSITION ON THE AIRPLANE HIGHJACKING RESOLUTION, WHICH WAS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE US, ALTHOUGH THEY LATER ALLOWED THE RESOLUTION TO PASS BY CONSENSUS. THEY ALSO CO-SPONSORED UNHELPFUL RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, INCLUDING ONE WHICH CONDEMNED THE US FOR ITS ECONOMIC INTERESTS THERE. THEY ATTACKED THE UK/US "SO CALLED INITIATIVES" ON NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE AS ONLY "NEW MANEUVERS" TO DELAY EFFECTIVE ACTION. VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVES CHARGED THAT US IMPERIALISM IS MAKING USE OF ISRAEL TO REPRESS THE PALESTINIANS AND OTHER ARABS. THEY ALSO ALLEGED THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WAS CAUSED BY THE "STRATEGIC AIMS" OF THE US, AND STATED US WAS UNDERMINING UN EFFORTS TO ARRIVE AT A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

4. PREDICTABLY, THE VIETNAMESE HAVE MADE THEIR PRINCIPAL EFFORTS SO FAR AT THE UN IN THE AREA OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND DECOLONIZATION. THEY TRIED WITHOUT SUCCESS TO INTRODUCE LANGUAGE INTO A RESOLUTION ON SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH WOULD HAVE UNDERLINED "THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES TO PROVIDE MATERIAL, MORAL AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE" TO PEOPLES STRUGGLEING FOR LIBERATION FROM COLONIAL DOMINATION. IN PLENARY AND THE FOURTH COMMITTEE, THE VIETNAMESE AMB DENOUCED US ACTIONS IN PUERTO RICO AND ATTACKED US MILITARY BASES IN GUAM, DIEGO GARCIA, MICRONESIA (SIC), GUANTANAMO AND SOUTH
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KOREA, AS WELL AS SUPPORTING LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN GENERAL.

5. THE MOST DIRECT US-VIETNAMESE CONFRONTATION CAME OVER GUAM IN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE, WHERE US HAD HOPED FOR ADOPTION BY CONSENSUS OF AN AUSTRALIAN-SPONSORED TEXT. INSTEAD VIETNAM, WITH MOZAMBIQUE AND OTHERS, INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION STATING THAT THE PRESENCE OF US BASES IN GUAM WAS INCOMPATIBLE WITH SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF GUAM. AFTER A FAIRLY INTENSIVE EFFORT BY THE US AND SOME FRIENDS, INCLUDING DIRECT APPROACHES BY AMBS YOUNG AND LEONARD AND CONGRESSMAN WOLFF AND VIETNAMESE AMBS, A COMPROMISE TEXT WAS ADOPTED. THE VIETNAMESE EXPRESSED THEIR RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE COMPROMISE AND REPEATED THEIR VERBAL ATTACK ON THE US BASE IN GUAM AS A THREAT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND TO THE SECURITY OF INDEPENDENT STATES IN THE AREA.

6. COMMENT: THE VIETNAMESE HAVE BEGUN THEIR UN PARTICIPATION BY ADOPTING A RADICAL ACTIVIST LINE WHICH, IF FOLLOWED, WILL LEAD THEM INTO CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE US. THE SRV, IN COOPERATION WITH LIKE-MINDED STATES, COULD PROVE AN EFFECTIVE-- AND FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, TROUBLESOME--NEW ELEMENT IN THE NON ALIGNED GROUP. THE VIETNAMESE WERE NOT HAPPY WITH

OUR STRONG REPRESENTATIONS TO THEM OVER THE GUAM ISSUE AND
OUR INJECTION OF THE ISSUE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS INTO
ACTIONS AT THE UN. THEY HAVE SAID THAT THEY REGARD THEIR
POSITION IN GUAM AND THEIR OTHER UN POLICIES AS MATTERS OF
PRINCIPLE AND HAVE STRONGLY IMPLIED THEY WOULD REJECT ANY
US ATTEMPTS TO BRING BILATERAL PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THEM
TO AFFECT THEIR UN ROLE. END COMMENT.

7. THE VIETNAMESE PERFORMANCE IN THEIR FIRST GA CLEARLY
LAID DOWN A MARKER INDICATING THEIR INTENTION TO ESTABLISH
A STRONG ROLE IN THE UN AMONG THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES.
ASEAN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN CAUTIOUS IN MAKING JUDGEMENTS
ABOUT THE PROSPECTIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF SRV'S EMERGENCE, BUT
THEY ACKNOWLEDGE A CONSTANT CONSENSIOUNESS OF THE VIETNAMESE
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ROLE. SOUTHEAST ASIANS INFER SUSPICIONS OF THE INTENTIONS
OF VIETNAM, BUT NONE OF THEM PERMIT SUCH NEGATIVE ATTITUDES
TO SHOW, CERTAINLY NOT PUBLICLY. OTHER NON-ALIGNED LEADERS
LIKE INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA SIMILARLY HAVE EXPRESSED FULL
CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE FORCE OF VIETNAM'S NEW PRESENCE, BUT
THEY APPEAR TO BE WATCHING AND WAITING MORE THAN REACTING.
CHINESE REPRESENTATIVES HAVE REFUSED ALL COMMENT, RAISING
AN EYEBROW THAT A QUESTION SHOULD BE ASKED. THE SOVIETS
APPEAR TO SEE SOMETHING OF THE VIETNAMESE, BUT NO CLEAR
PATTERN OF ATTITUDES OF RELATIONSHIP HAS EMERGED. YOUNG
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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